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Liberty

NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER — PROUDHON

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"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."

JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

Tolstoï is putting the finishing touches to a novel begun two years ago, dealing with the conquest of the Caucasus by the Russians. It will bear the title "Hadji-Mourat," the name of the principal character.

When a paper just springing into existence deliberately adopts the name of another long established in the same city, the elder may with propriety put the public on their guard against a confusion arising from causes beyond its control; but, when the upstart, after courting this confusion by wilful exploitation, publicly protests against the consequences of its own act, it shows, on the one hand, its hypocrisy, and, on the other, the impudence that often characterizes extreme youth.

While we are all debating whether trade-unions shall be incorporated so as to become legally responsible for their actions, an English judge has cut the knot. He has given decision that, when a union chooses to act as a body, it thereby becomes responsible as a body, therefore can be sued, and can sue. There is much horse sense in this decision, and it will doubtless help government in dealing with the unions; but it is a fearful blow to the idea that you must get out a governmental charter in order to be a corporation. Nevertheless, to enforce it against the unions without first abolishing the whole body of corporation law would be rank injustice.

Mr. Gompers, who knows what boycotting is, and has consistently advocated it as a right, was questioned on the subject while on the witness-stand before the Gray strike commission. "Where would you draw the line?" he was asked. His answer was as unsatisfactory as Mitchell's or Father O'Donnell's. He stated that he should feel justified in boycotting an employer of scabs, or a scab himself, but he drew the line at the friend of the employer of scabs. He would boycott an offensive merchant, but he would not boycott a patron of this merchant for declining to join him (Gompers) in the boycott. "Why not?" he was asked. "That would be far-fetched," the papers quote him as replying. Did this soft answer turn away Judge Gray's wrath? What has "far-fetchedness" to do with the question of right? It may or may not be expedient to extend a boycott indefinitely, but the rabid contemners of the boycott care nothing about the considerations related to expediency. Gompers's reply was an evasion. Fortunately for him, the illogical commission did not press the real point involved. It was war, but it was not magnificent. Gompers threw away an opportunity to strike a blow for liberty and the boycott, and to cover Judge Gray with confusion.

At a public school in Topeka, Kansas, the opening exercises every morning consist of the reading of animal stories by the teacher and the recitation by teacher and pupils of the Lord's prayer and the twenty-third psalm. A lad was expelled for refusing to be quiet during the Biblical recitations, and his parents applied to the courts for his reinstatement. The judge decided against them, declaring that "the mere repetition of the Lord's prayer and the twenty-third psalm does not constitute a form of religious worship." Now, to anybody less stupid than the average judge it is perfectly patent that the "mere repetition" is precisely the feature that stamps these exercises as a form of worship. If the Biblical passages were changed from day to day, it might be claimed with some show of reason that the purpose of the readings is instruction in literature or mythology, but, when the same two passages are read daily the year round, the performance is seen at once (except from the bench) to be ritual. The New York "Evening Post" thinks the boy should have listened to the Biblical passages as respectfully as to the animal stories. But, if the teacher were to read the same animal story every day of the year, would not the day come when all the boys would shout with one voice: "Rats!"? And would not the "Post" approve such condemnation of pedagogic asininity?

It is a remarkable and an encouraging fact that, during the general strike that occurred at Geneva some months ago, no less than 321 workingmen refused to do service in the army on the ground of unwillingness to shoot fellow-laborers. Of these, 17 were punished by the courts with more or less severity. These refusals, whether in Europe or the United States, do not, as the newspapers would have us believe, indicate sympathy with disorder or unwillingness to participate in its suppression. They indicate simply that some of the workers have become sufficiently emancipated to refuse to be deceived by false pretexts into becoming tools for the execution of the ulterior and bloody designs of plutocratic robbers. These more enlightened workers know perfectly well that, nine times out of ten, the demand of capital for the aid of the military during strikes is inspired by intention to encourage outbreaks that may serve as excuse for indiscriminate massacre whereby so to terrorize even the peaceful strikers and their sympathizers that the success of the strike becomes impossible. If the workingmen could trust the leaders of the military to confine their use of force to the minimum necessary to the suppression of actual disorder, there would be among them much less aversion to the performance of military service. But they know from sad experience that such trust is too often abused.

Those Communists who profess belief in liberty insist loudly on the virtues of voluntary co-operation and deplore the individualistic love of independent action. Nevertheless, it is the Anarchist, and not the Communist, that really believes in co-operation when economy, efficiency, and order render it advisable. This is shown nowhere more clearly than in the respective attitudes of the two on the question of defence against invasion. The Communist insists that there is no distinction between invasion and non-invasion, and that liberty prevails only where each defends himself in his own way against whatever he may find disagreeable. In his view, whenever two or more persons find themselves in agreement as to what is invasive and what is not and combine accordingly for mutual defence, they are destroying liberty and instituting government. In other words, he absolutely rejects that voluntary co-operation for defence, of which the Anarchist is a strenuous champion. Moreover, in rejecting it, he shows simply that his advocacy of what he calls "absolute liberty," as contrasted with the "equal liberty" favored by the Anarchist, is really not an advocacy of liberty at all. To him the distinction between liberty and authority lies, not in the nature of the act, but in the capacity of the actor. In reality, his creed does not deal with liberty in the least, and has no business to make mention of the word, amounting as it does to nothing more or less than vindication of all individual coercion and condemnation of all co-operative coercion.

The Disturbers.

Acts 17:6.

They have turned earth upside down,
Says the foe;
They have come to bring our town
Wreck and woe.
To this never-ending cry
Boldly here we make reply:
Yea and no.

Upside down the world has lain
Many a year;
We to turn it back again
Now appear.
Will ye nill ye, we will do
What at last no man shall rue;
Have no fear.

Steven T. Byington.

Liberty.

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"In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time slavery, the Revolution abolishes at one stroke the sword of the executioner, the seal of the magistrate, the club of the policeman, the gauge of the exciseman, the erasing-knife of the department clerk, all those insignia of Politics, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel."—PROUDHON.

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The Proposed Pamphlet.

The number of advance subscriptions for hundred-copy lots of the proposed pamphlet (Benj. R. Tucker's address on "The Attitude of Anarchism Toward Industrial Combinations") is not yet quite sufficient to warrant its issue. For this reason the special rate of two dollars and fifty cents per hundred copies, carriage paid, will not be withdrawn before March 1, 1903. If at that time the responses have been sufficient, the pamphlet will be issued. Otherwise its publication will be abandoned. Subscription pledges may be addressed to LIBERTY, P. O Box 1312, NEW YORK CITY.

Anarchism and "Society."

Dr. Albion W. Small, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, in an essay on "The Significance of Sociology for Ethics," addresses a few parenthetical remarks to the Anarchistic individualists. In order to encourage further discussion of Anarchism by university professors and sociologists, these remarks must receive some attention. It will be easy to show that Dr. Small is criticising and demolishing something which he chooses to call Anarchism, but which does not even remotely or faintly suggest that politico-social doctrine.

The paragraph in which the dummy labelled Anarchism is dissected and buried and damned is not very long, but there are as many errors, fallacies, or gratuitous assumptions in it as there are sentences. The first assures us that one "detail alone, if given due value, would correct the strabismus in the Anarchistic vision." One detail! Let us hasten to the expert oculist, and get our strabismus corrected. It turns out that the "detail" is neither more nor less than this, —that "individual life, when reduced to its very lowest terms, is still social life," or, in other words, that "human life is interchange and interaction of all lives."

Let us admit the immense sociological significance of this "detail." What follows? What is there in the Anarchistic philosophy that would suffer in the presence of this recognized detail? The fact is that it is rather an argument for than against Anarchism. It is because individual life is still social life when reduced to its lowest terms that the abolition of the State would not involve the dissolution of civil society. If the free individual were necessarily at war with his fellows, and order were impossible without some form of tyranny, the Anarchistic ideal would be an obvious absurdity. If, on the other hand, the individual is at bottom social, then there is no *manifest* absurdity in asserting that society does not depend for its very existence upon what is called government and what, to Anarchists, is another name for aggression and tyranny.

However, let us take care that, in giving *due* weight to the "detail" in question, we do not commit ourselves to metaphysical nonsense and irrelevance. The aforesaid "detail" is not, I fancy, used by Dr. Small as an argument against freedom of speech, freedom of the press, free worship, or any other freedom or immunity guaranteed by the bill of rights. Were any one to object to a violation of free speech, would Prof. Small tell him that he was afflicted with strabismus, and that the fact that the life of the individual was really social somehow rendered his demand for free speech ridiculous and senseless? There is just as little meaning in the appeal to the "detail" from the Anarchistic demand for liberty.

And now let us take Dr. Small's statements *seriatim*.

The Anarchistic ideal of liberty, as a substitute for legal society, is a fantasy that could be realized only by providing each individual with an absolute moral vacuum as his life-sphere. It would have to be made impenetrable by the interests of others.

The truth of this clearly depends on the Anarchistic definition of liberty. What do Anarchists mean by liberty? Do they contend for the right to take life or property or liberty without restraint? Dr. Small does not say that they do. Does he admit that they do not? In that case, his dictum is pointless and gratuitous. He proceeds:

So soon as one personality is conscious of the existence of another, the "liberty" of each ends, and the limitations of both begin. Liberty without limitation is elimination of the conditions of life. It is society without society.

Who is demanding liberty without limitation? Who has disputed the proposition that the presence of others renders the absolute liberty of the individual impossible? Perhaps the position of the "Christian Anarchists," so called, the non-resistants, implies this, but the Anarchists Prof. Small is criticising do not contend for the freedom of invasion. They recognize the limitations of liberty enjoined by equality of liberty. They accept the Spencerian formula of justice, with which Prof. Small is doubtless familiar. He misses the point completely when he talks in a general way about "limitations." Specify your limitations. Thou shalt not kill, is a limitation: the Anarchists recognize it. Thou shalt not rob or defraud your fellow-man, is another limitation, and the Anarchists recognize that. Thou shalt not buy goods in England without paying a duty on them to your government, is a limitation they repudiate. Thou shalt not issue a promissory note and circulate it (if you can) as currency without paying a tax of ten per cent., is another "limitation" we decline to recognize as natural. Do Dr. Small's generalities throw any light on these instances?

To quote further:

Society causes these ills, he [the Anarchist] says; then abolish government.

He does not say anything so foolish. If society caused the ills complained of, the remedy would lie in the dissolution of society. Dr. Small reminds us that society produces and causes many fine, lovely, and noble things. We cheerfully grant it, but the reminder is superfluous. The correct statement is this: "Government—that is, the governmental principle—causes these ills, he says; then abolish government,"—that is, adopt a radically different principle as the foundation of political organization.

One more quotation, though it contains no addition to the ideas already expressed in the sententious phrases taken from Dr. Small's paragraph:

Liberty presupposes society, but society is merely another expression for limitation. Limitation is suspension of liberty only when it ceases to be the limitation of rational adaptation. Liberty and law are not antagonists; they are inseparable condition and consequent. The insanity of Anarchy is a phase of failure to discern this dependence. . . . The rational recourse against disease is not suicide, but improved hygiene.

What does Dr. Small mean by "law"? He gives us no definition of it. He cannot mean that liberty and any law enacted by a czar, oligarchy, or "popular" parliament are not antagonists. Certain laws, or certain limitations of freedom, are not antagonistic to the liberty of social beings, as we have just acknowledged with the utmost sincerity. We do not propose to violate laws of this sort. We propose to observe and *enforce* them. It is not suicide, but improved hygiene, that we are prescribing, and this improved hygiene consists in voluntaryism as the basis of political relations.

Dr. Small may hold that this *is* suicide, but, if so, he will have to make a new argument—to ask for a rehearing. He must undertake to prove, not that limitations are essential to the preservation of society, and that absolute liberty is impossible, but that certain *particular* limitations are essential, and that *equal* liberty is impossible.

Dr. Small is aware that the religious life in this country is Anarchistic. The churches are supported by voluntary contributions, and the State has nothing to do with worship (passing over minor invasions, such as blasphemy laws, prohibition of work or amusement on Sundays, etc.). Anarchy, then, did not destroy the religious social life. Various social, artistic, philanthropic, scientific activities, of first importance to society, are carried on under a *régime* of voluntaryism. No suicide *there!* The Anarchistic proposition is to leave the element of aggression out of the political organization, to make taxation voluntary, and to recognize the right of the individual to ignore the invasive State. Would that do away with co-operation, combination for defensive purposes? Reason

and experience answer in the negative. The abandonment of the principle of compulsion by the political organization would not reduce men to a lower moral or mental condition. They would certainly retain their social instincts and needs, and society would continue to exist and flourish.

However, this is a line of argument alien to my purpose, which is to show that Dr. Small has not dealt with Anarchism at all, and that his attempt to correct the alleged strabismus in the Anarchists' vision is singularly misdirected. What he says about society and the individual has not the slightest relation to the Anarchistic doctrine. S. R.

The Currency Problem.

Wall street is in a bad way; affairs in that locality are on the verge of collapse; the government, through its financial secretary, has, in an endeavor to avert impending disaster, poured funds in vast sums into the "Street," until a point has been reached beyond which, though still lawless and willing, the head of the government treasury dare not go, without appreciably relieving the tensity of a strain so dangerously near the breaking-point as to cause universal apprehension and fear in the minds of men whose knowledge qualifies them to rightly judge the situation. Portentous signs are not limited to Wall street; they are being presented elsewhere, and in various spheres of activity; and it looks as though the parlous scenes of '93, to go no farther back, not only were about to be repeated, but might be greatly emphasized and intensified, for the financial balloon is not only higher than ever before, but much more inflated.

James J. Hill, president of the Northern Securities Company, the greatest railroad consolidation in the world, and probably as well qualified as any man in the country to know whereof he speaks, in connection with existing financial conditions recently said: "Things look serious. They are bad already, and, what's more to the point, they are destined to grow worse. This country has reached the top of its prosperity. If the serious downward movement has not already begun, it is not far off. . . . Just at present the future is dark to men who are in debt. In my opinion, it has not been so dark in years. . . . One does not need to look at Wall street for support of this opinion. Tight money is not felt there alone. The manufacturing districts are suffering already. Their suffering will increase as things grow worse. Good evidence can be found, too, among builders. Where they were receiving orders for five buildings a year ago, they are lucky if they are getting one to-day."

The fruitfulness of nature remains unabated; there's no lack of human enterprise, and no appreciable falling away from habits of industry and frugality on the part of the people of the country. They never were more capable of producing everything that the satisfaction of human want requires; yet times are getting hard, and a panic is seriously threatened or right at hand. A warning voice has spoken; still other voices may be raised and heard; but that is all that may or can be done, for the people are securely bound, hand and foot, and thus made powerless to avert a panic, or, should it come, to do much towards softening its terror or hardship.

All the people can do is to compose themselves as best they can, wait for the blow to fall, stand up under it if they can, and, if they are borne down and broken by its awful impact, get up again and patch the broken pieces (if there be any left) as best they may, and go on, buoyed, perhaps, with a hope that kinder death will mercifully intervene before another panic comes along and hits them.

The people are helpless because they have surrendered into the hands of administrative agencies the power to help themselves,—to wit, the power to organize and develop individual credit through the agency of banks. The national banking system has again failed. It has failed repeatedly, and will continue to fail as long as it is permitted to exist. It was scarcely established before it failed, and failed utterly. The national banking law (?) has been in operation and inflicted its blighting curse upon the country for nearly forty years, and the people not only have endured it, but seem to like its horrible workings so well that there is not enough demand for even an amendment to make it effective.

The system fails because banks are organized and conducted in defiance of right principle. They are organized after the plan of a pawn shop. Bills of issue are put forth, and loans are made upon deposited pledges; when the market for the pledges fails, the power of the bank to replenish its till and keep itself going is gone; with pledges unsalable, because there is no market for them, a bank inevitably fails. The weakness and error of the plan have long been known. The organization of the Bank of England is similar, and three times since 1844 would the bank have been obliged to close its doors but for the fact that the law (?) was temporarily suspended by the government. The panic of '57 was due to the fact that a very large number of the banks of our country were organized and conducted after a similar plan. The banks of New England and Louisiana, most of the banks of New York, a few in Ohio, Indiana, and other States, went through that cataclysm with flying colors, because they were organized and conducted in accordance with what is known as the "Banking Principle," while those that failed and went down were organized upon what is called the "Currency Principle."

In spite of this knowledge, and in the face of the protests of the then leading bankers of the country, the congress of the United States accepted the plan for the nationalization of banks presented to it by Chase, who was then secretary of the treasury, and passed the national banking act. It has been rigidly adhered to, and the people have submitted to its infamous tyranny ever since. Banks already established refused to accept and adopt the plan and become national banks, but they were coerced by a further enactment which imposed a tax of ten per cent. on the face value of all circulating notes of issue. The authors of this infamous tax decree, together with the members of the supreme court who, by subsequently declaring it to be constitutional, sustained it, should be forever execrated by everybody except bank monopolists.

It is true that there is some agitation for asset banking, and for a modification of existing statutory limitations that will permit banks to adopt it. But it is not wholly sincere. If it were, the first thing that would be asked for would be the repeal of the existing decree which imposes the ten per cent. tax on circulating notes. If that were repealed, banks of issue would be organized immediately, wherever there was a demand for them. They would be organized upon sound principles, and existing banks would have to adopt like methods, and compete with them for business, or wind themselves up and go out of business. Interest rates would fall to a point representative of the cost of organizing and developing credit. Aye! there's the rub; interest rates would fall! It would no longer be possible for a bank run on the plan of a pawn shop to squeeze enforced patrons to an extent that would enable it to earn (?) dividends from twelve per cent. upwards, and then, when the time came that patrons were hard pressed,—a time when credit must be extended to avoid panic,—find itself unable to give the slightest relief, and thus become a further means of insuring a panic. It is not intended to weaken the existing monopoly, but rather to further intrench it, and thus make it more secure in its position.

There is not intelligence enough in all the world to formulate and set forth an arrangement that will properly meet and satisfy banking requirements. Banks were not made by legislative decree, nor will a properly-working banking system ever be so created. Banks spring into existence, when the State permits, in response to demand, and their development is regulated by the requirements of the numerous and varied kinds of exchanges which it is their function to facilitate,—exchanges of claims of service. A banking system, like the banks of which it is composed, must be a thing of growth, and only in an atmosphere of freedom can proper growth and development be attained.

It is not legislative decree that keeps banks safe and sound, but the intelligence and integrity of the men who organize and conduct them; and intelligence and integrity can be neither supplied or conserved by legislative act. Bills of exchange, checks, and bills of issue do not differ in their nature in any respect that warrants a difference of legislative attitude toward them. There are no legislative restrictions limiting or governing the supply or payment of bills of exchange and checks, and there is no necessity for arbitrarily limiting and governing the supply of bills of issue, or the manner of their payment. What is needed is not additional or amendatory legislation, but a repeal of existing legislative hindrances and preventives. If there were no legislation at all; if banks were absolutely free,—money would never get "tight"; there would never come a time when any one entitled to credit would be unable to get it. Banks would sometimes fail, and localities in which they were situated be distressed thereby, but not often; and there never would be a panic. Such a thing would be impossible, for every bank would stand upon its own feet, and its failure would affect

only those sustaining immediate business relations with it. Interest rates would fall to a point representative of the cost of organizing and developing credit, and would steadily remain at that point. The enormous hindrance to industrial activity which, under existing conditions, is involved in the difficulty of obtaining credit, when required, by those entitled to receive it, and the payment of exorbitant rates of interest, would be forever removed.

In Scotland, where banking for more than eighty years was almost absolutely free, and where, but for the desire of already existing banks for monopoly, and a consequent demand for limiting and repressive legislation, it would still be free, there have been but three bank failures, and never a panic.

A. W. WRIGHT.

Pay or Die.

John J. McCann, of St. Louis, died in the fall of 1901. The "Single Tax Review" at that time gave the following explanation of the cause of his death:

John J. McCann was fifty-two years old, and his death was hastened by his incarceration in the workhouse last summer, whither he was sentenced for six months for his refusal to pay a tax of twenty-five dollars on his business of real estate dealer. McCann contended that the tax was unjust, and went to the workhouse in defence of his principle. He was released after six weeks' imprisonment, but with health badly impaired. All this summer he was in a critical condition, and he was sent to Eureka Springs as a last hope.

The St. Louis Single Tax League adopted resolutions in memory of their dead comrade, of which resolutions the following is a part:

He was a disciple of Henry George, and the most conspicuous member of this organization; most conspicuous because he initiated measures that brought him into conflict with the "powers that be,"—*i. e.*, special interests and public officials influenced thereby,—and was landed in jail for refusing to be a party to a species of legal blackmail for the privilege of engaging in a lawful and legitimate occupation. He sought to point out to the people that these special interests were being favored by public servants in the assessment and collection of taxes, and, as an object lesson which all might see, suffered incarceration in our city workhouse rather than submit to being officially robbed (licensed).

Although the esteem of his fellow-men was a great consolation to him, his individual fortunes and general welfare suffered. He was warned that such would be the case, but duty, as he saw it, called, and he never wavered. His law-practice and real estate business was wrecked, but that made no difference to a mind like his. No loved ones were dependent upon him, and he refused to selfishly consider his own personal interests as of more consequence than those of the masses, whose interests he felt required sacrifices from some one.

Now, am I using unjustifiably invidious language, if I say that the money collected by taxation in St. Louis is blood-money, and that the men who receive public salaries there are consenting to barter their services, whatever these may be, for other men's services in the way of killing inoffensive men for their money?

The evil is usually covered up by the fact that the victims prefer to surrender quietly rather than suffer bodily harm. Government is seldom put to the inconvenience of actually killing a man on such an occasion. The more attentive should we be, when we get a reminder of what lies behind the orderly procedure—of the alternative that government threatens us with in order to make us give up our money.

It would be interesting to get a bill showing where McCann's $25 would have gone if he had paid it, that we might see just what he was killed for. But such a bill should be itemized in full detail. So many cents and mills for firemen's salaries, so many to buy dictionaries for the schools, so many to a sculptor,—etc.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

The Rule of the Monopolists.

No one who has closely followed the industrial trend of the past few years in America can fail to be impressed by the rapidity of capitalistic developments. It is true that a numerous section of interested onlookers profess to see in the new organization the preparatory steps for a collectivist *régime*, which they hail as the solution of our social ills. In this view, however, it may be suspected that the wish is father to the thought.

These gigantic monopolies, which control not only our industry, but all the machinery of the State,—legislative, judicial, executive,—together with school, college, press, and pulpit, we are told must presently go down before the irresistible onslaught of a sentimental agitation. That the privileged class, so securely entrenched behind American democratic institutions, will submit to expropriation, even if demanded at the ballot-box, is a delusion possible only to him who knows not the actual situation confronting the people of this country.

The sane mind, possessed of adequate knowledge, is compelled to dismiss any and all utopian schemes for the regeneration of society. One must guard equally against the mutually opposing, though common, ideas that a radical change is impending, and that no change at all is possible,—that the existing order must go on for ever.

For more than half a century in America one small, but distinguished, group of reformers have advocated certain definite conceptions with respect to the leading economic problems of society. Though intensely earnest in their desire to obtain justice for labor, they have neither denied the rights of property nor preached armed revolution; and, while holding principles whose realization would transform the present economic order, they have consistently kept aloof from every attempt to redress the wrongs of the producers through political means. Instead of trying to seize political power by forming new parties, as innocuous as they are noisy, they have trained their intellectual fire on the institution of government, in which they see the source of social and economic injustice. The State, they say, by conferring privileges on certain favored classes, creates inequality, maintains industrial servitude, and produces the very evils which many well-meaning people to-day vainly call upon the State to suppress.

A recent book bears out the truth of the Anarchists' contention. To the superficial reader "Our Benevolent Feudalism" might seem reactionary, predicting an era of renascent feudalism, with our industrial magnates taking the place of the lords of the manor, our professional classes fulfilling the part of the feudal retainers, and our wage-slaves unconsciously drifting into the relative place of the serfs and villeins of Europe many centuries ago.

The writer concludes with a dismally drawn-out picture of the approaching condition of revived status, the demoralization of the producer, the complete supremacy of a moneyed oligarchy,—in short, a stereotyped edition of the worst features of the existing order, into which the future society is about to crystallize. It is needless to say that to the discerning reader the pessimism thus indicated is but a veil for the pungent sarcasm and sardonic humor of this latter-day Junius.

If any one not an avowed Anarchist should come forward to prove the venality of our politicians, few would question the truth of the charge. Were it said that Christ's accredited representatives on earth are disciples of Mammon rather than of him who had not where to lay his head, what layman would dispute the imputation? That the press echoes the views of its advertising patrons, and that our academic instructors are but mouthpieces of the opinions of their benefactors, would pass uncontradicted beyond the confines of a college campus. But, if there should be any so bold as to cast suspicion on our impeccable American judiciary, let him be anathema, for in this republic he has committed the unpardonable sin.

Yet W. J. Ghent, author of "Our Benevolent Feudalism," not only moots this startling insinuation against the judges, high and low, but goes further, and undertakes to show by chapter and line that American judges have systematically hardened their hearts against the workingman and combined to crush him beneath the majesty of the law. If legislatures so far forget their function as to enact statutes favoring the laborers, at once comes Rhadamanthus in his wisdom to the rescue, and declares such laws unconstitutional. If a soft-hearted jury or a judge of low degree should be persuaded to render a decision in favor of a toiler who perhaps has been maimed for life through the niggardliness of callous employers, then come the higher-court purveyors of justice to the relief of their masters, and reverse such decisions, giving a verdict, at least twenty-eight times in thirty, for the exploiters.

The author of this book shows an insight into existing social conditions that betokens the conscientious student and thinker. His concise analysis of economic tendencies in America is not vitiated by sloppy sentimentalism. Beginning with a sketch of present-day forecasts, he discusses the industrial situation to show that, while the value of the total product steadily increases, actual wages tend to remain stationary, if not to diminish. He notes the increasing employment of women and children in a large number of occupations, and the consequent displacement of men. Next he analyzes the tendency of recent legislation, finding a falling-off in the number and kind of laws designed to benefit labor. Then he takes up our interpreters of law, the judiciary, citing adequate testimony to prove a sameness in the kind of laws declared unconstitutional. There is a pronounced bias against laws that curb the privileges of the rich or protect the rights of the poor. He finds a

preponderance in the number of injunctions against striking, boycotting, and agitating, compared with the number against locking-out, blacklisting, and the employment of armed mercenaries. There is a practical unanimity against awarding damages to injured employees, and finally a diversity between the decisions rendered by judges elected for short terms and those rendered by less responsible judges appointed for longer periods. The subserviency of the judiciary to the capitalist class is laid bare, and the nature of the reward in store for the accommodating judge is indicated.

With our moulders of opinion this writer deals luminously. As a class, college professors have become apologists for the existing order. Press, pulpit, and endowed teacher form a potent trinity to inculcate a comforting quietism among the masses. Nor can we omit the efforts of our millionaires with literary proclivities in preaching thrift, honesty, and hard work as the unfailing avenues to financial success. The Munseyizing of the magazines is no less marked than the Morganization of industry. Book literature has already developed the atavistic character befitting a generation succumbing to plutocratic domination.

He sees no remedy for the gigantic power concentrated in the hands of an irresponsible oligarchy. Though a Socialist, he believes that the present tendencies make for a *régime* remote from Socialism.

The only logical deductions to be drawn from the book could hardly be formulated by one who has been persistently intolerant of Anarchism. But the reader need not be an Anarchist in order to see that government is the source of the evils so trenchantly exposed. It is the instrument by means of which the monopolist maintains his supremacy.

Law-makers enact what he desires; the judiciary interprets his will; the executive is his submissive agent; the military arm exists in reality to defend *his* country, protect *his* property, and suppress *his* enemies, the workers on strike.

Who supports government? The people, who work for it, shout for it, fight for it, and believe in it.

But without government, embracing all its complicated civil and military paraphernalia, how could monopoly continue its oppression of the wealth producers, the people?

How long would it have taken to end the coal strike, if the resources of the State, euphemistically called law and order, had not been behind the coal barons?

Monopoly rests on law and authority. Privilege is born of political power in the hands of a class. Liberty is possible only among a people who will tolerate no master, whether an elected president or a divinely-appointed Baer.

After all, let us hope that some day the workers will awake and cast off the greatest of modern illusions,—faith in governmental authority. When the producer no longer obeys the State, his economic master will have lost his power.

Meanwhile the capitalist enjoys the earth and the fullness thereof, his arrogance grows more more and more glaring, his contempt for the people is less and less restrained, and his position remains secure. WILLIAM BAILIE.

In the space occasionally allotted to him by the Detroit "To-day," for the expression of his "Cranky Notions," Joseph A. Labadie, as a rule, makes good use of his opportunities. But in a recent instalment, and for no apparent reason, he gives nearly all his space to a letter from "a valued friend," which, in itself, is utterly destitute of value. If I comment on the letter, it is solely because it offers us the rare case of a formerly level-headed and even acute Anarchist (I speak advisedly, knowing the man) degenerating to the point of silliness. Endeavoring to explain to Labadie why he "takes no more interest in the betterment of the vague abstraction we call society," he says: "I have reached a position of firmness in the faith that 'all is well,'—that the universe is well designated, and I have no desire to impose my little one-horse wisdom against the 'Great Big Wisdom' that manages to maintain the universal harmony. ..... I assert that God is all-sufficient." And, having delivered himself of this highly important utterance, he adds, a few lines later: "Oh, yes, when the downtrodden really resist, and deny that God made the earth for Baer, then I will stand by them." But why will he do so? When the downtrodden really resist, will the "all-sufficient" God lose his sufficiency? Why will it be necessary for Labadie's "valued friend" to "stand by" God and the downtrodden at that particular juncture? And, if not necessary, why will it be less impudent then than now for him to intrude his "little one-horse wisdom"? It seems to me, moreover, that, despite the pretence of humility apparent in the peculiar expression just quoted, the "valued friend" really overrates himself therein. If I may judge by another passage that I am about to quote from this remarkable letter, "one-ass wisdom" is a more accurate measure of his sapience. Listen: "There is One Will that is always done, and no other. I have a theory that we do the One Will when we give expression to ourselves sincerely." No significance can be attached to the second of these sentences unless the writer supposes that some of us sometimes give expression to ourselves insincerely, and on those occasions are not doing the One Will. But, when not doing the One Will, we must be doing some other will. And, in that case, what becomes of the declaration of the first sentence that "there is One Will that is always done, and no other"? If the author of these utterances is to be credited with sincerity, they are indicative of nothing less than softening of a brain that has been rated heretofore as uncommonly firm. Whether or no he is doing the One Will, it is pretty evident that the One Will (if there be One Will) is rapidly undoing him. Unless, indeed, we adopt the only other tenable hypothesis, —that in Labadie's "valued friend" we have now one more religious fakir, who is preparing to "do" us.

One of the dangers involved in the referendum has been emphatically exemplified in Illinois in the *quasi*-application of the referendum idea to the ascertainment of public opinion as to the referendum as a policy, — the danger, namely, of the oppression, by an earnest, but insane, minority, of a comparatively indifferent, though saner, majority. In a total vote of 881,000 (cast for State treasurer) 390,000 votes were cast for local referendum and 83,000 votes against it, 408,000 of those voting for State treasurer neglecting to vote on the question of referendum. Thus a body of voters numbering 50,000 less than half of the total number voting is able to establish the public sentiment of the State. And the result would have been the same, had the total vote for referendum been 39,000, or 3,900, instead of 390,000, provided the total vote actually cast against referendum had been still smaller. In other words, the referendum once in vogue, a paltry band of fanatics, taking advantage of the public indifference to their craze, may forge chains for the shackling of an entire population. It is deplorable, no doubt, that the public mind is so undeveloped that it may be led to battle over a personality while refusing to bestir itself over a principle; but, such being the fact, it is unwise to ignore it. To be placed at the mercy of thieves by the system of parliamentary representation is sufficiently uncomfortable; let us not leap from this frying-pan into the fires that madmen may kindle.

The Socialist advocates of municipal ownership are in the habit of "pointing with pride" to the example of Glasgow. It is interesting, therefore, to note that the new lord provost of that city, responding to a toast to the municipality at a banquet of the Royal Philosophical Society, declared that, while contemplating the advantages of their "advanced state of administration," they must not overlook its dangers, one of which was "that in the vast army of municipal employees they had an organized host whose operations at the polls might be destructive of the very best government of the city." In view of this danger, the lord provost had "sometimes thought whether the time might not shortly arrive when disfranchisement might be a condition of municipal employment." Make every man a State employee, and then deprive every State employee of the ballot,—there you have autocracy in its perfect nakedness. The democracy of today, stripping the individual of his liberty with one hand, offers him the ballot with the other as a pretended guarantee of the very liberty he is losing. But the democracy of tomorrow, the democracy of State Socialism, having made of the individual a well-fed beast of burden, will no longer be under the necessity of offering, in lieu of the substance of liberty, the shadow that might again tempt him to expression of discontent.

In his recent communication to members of congress on the question of trust regulation, Mr. Knox makes one true and excellent statement — how true and how excellent he is far from realizing. A monopoly, he says, would be impossible in this country, where money is abundant and cheap, if competition were assured of a fair and open field, and protected against unfair, artificial, and discriminatory practices. Where money would *be* abundant and cheap, Mr. Knox should have said. For it is not true that it *is* abundant and cheap. The ten per cent. tax, the bond-security requirement, and the various other restrictions upon the use of credit

and capital are in the way. If money were cheap and competition free, there would be no trust problem. But free competition means more than the absence of unfair discrimination in rates. It means free banking and free land and a proper system of land tenure. So long as these conditions are wanting, no amount of radical, revolutionary, and unconstitutional "regulation" of inter-State commerce will have the slightest effect. Mr. Knox's bills, if enacted, will prove as sterile and futile and farcical as the Sherman trust law has proved to be.

Lyman J. Gage, in a recent address, asked this question: "Shall we agree with Proudhon that all property is robbery; or with the Socialists that all property is the result of the joint activity of all, and should be distributed among all; or with Tolstoï that labor produces everything, and all who have what they did not toil for have despoiled others?" It is evident from the form of this question that Mr. Gage looks upon the positions of Proudhon, the Socialists, and Tolstoï as three distinct positions, each differing from the other two. This shows that the eminent financier who formerly managed the nation's finances either never read Proudhon, or, reading him, failed to understand him. For, while the positions of Tolstoï and Proudhon regarding property are by no means identical, there is nothing in Mr. Gage's statement of Tolstoï's position that conflicts with Proudhon's declaration that property is robbery, as that declaration is interpreted by its author in the book in which it is made.

"Notes sur l'Italie Contemporaine" (Notes on Contemporary Italy) is the title of a book, lately published in Paris, from the pen of M. Paul Ghio, a professor at the Free College of Social Sciences. The author's object is to present as complete a picture as possible of the economic, social, and political life of Italy since the date of its unification. The book has a special interest for Anarchists because of the personality of M. Ghio, who lately visited America to study the Anarchistic movement on this side of the Atlantic, and who contemplates a second visit for the completion of his studies, with a view to the publication in France of a volume embodying their results. His first visit has already borne fruit, as one may see in the December number of the "Journal des Economistes," which contains an article by M. Ghio entitled "An American Anarchist," being a very friendly review of "Instead of a Book."

Mirbeau's admirable work, "A Chambermaid's Diary," is to be dramatized for production in Paris. Our great-grandchildren *may* see it in New York. It is impossible to say how long the prudish hypocrisy that prevails in the United States will be able to resist the liberating march of mental fearlessness.

The trusts and the tariff problem must stand apart, Roosevelt insists, and some anti-protectionists wonder why. Can't he see, they ask, that protection shelters monopoly? Perhaps he can, but does that make his position peculiar? On the contrary, it makes it perfectly clear and normal. The remedy of freedom might really hurt the trusts; regulation, publicity, supervision, etc., even if applied till doomsday, would not affect them in the least. If you must do something, say the trusts, if you can't stand pat, then by all means regulate us. Do not, in the name of Mammon, touch free-trade poison, to use the phrase of our friend Henderson.

Truth Found by the "Truth Seeker."

[George E. Macdonald.]

There is probably method in the mildness of Voltairine de Cleyre, who refuses to identify the fellow who filled her person full of lead, but it looks like a mistake. I have not followed very closely the development of the Anarchistic idea, and couldn't say whether, according to its precepts, the man who has designs on a woman and fails to get away with the goods is entitled to his life or not. To my limited view the act of Voltairine's assailant has the appearance of an invasion, and I have always understood that invasion was frowned upon by all good Anarchists, of whom I believe Miss de Cleyre to be one. A person's skin is his or her own, I think, for the reason that it is not readily conceivable how any one else can have a claim on it; and, until further enlightened, I shall stand firmly on the ground that the fellow who deliberately shoots holes in it is an invader. Such a person ought not to be at large. The habit might grow on him, to the peril of his own hide, if of no other. Anarchists abominate the State, and would destroy it, even though its destruction involved the decease of its representatives to a certain extent. This fellow Helcher, who shot Miss de Cleyre, assumed to himself the function of the State when he undertook the execution of his deadly purpose against her. He became for the moment the incarnation of government in its most ferocious guise How, then, is he entitled to any consideration in the mind of an Anarchist? Why should he not suffer the logical penalty of his invasive act?

Why They Hate the Boycott.

[Joseph A. Labadie in Detroit "To-day."]

Commissioner Gray, of the anthracite coal strike commission, approved Father Curran's statement that he was opposed to the boycott and the blacklist, and said that, if boycotts were permitted, the country would go to pieces. The exploiting classes are very much set against the boycott, but I am quite positive it has come to stay and to play a very important part in the betterment of industrial conditions. You see, the boycott is non-invasive, and the authoritarians don't know how to deal with weapons that do not need force or violence to be effective. They have the police, the militia, the army, and the navy at their behest, and of course have the advantage of the unarmed work-people in the game of war; but, when it comes to passive resistance and non-invasive methods, they are paralyzed. If they use the blacklist, as a matter of self-preservation we can turn our custom to those who are not in the game. The blacklister cannot continue in business without the patronage of the wage-earning folks, and how can the government in any way compel us to buy of those whom we do not care to patronize? It is true, it could put a heavy tariff on the business of non-blacklisters, but I have an idea the people of this country have not yet lost all sense of their own rights, nor the power and willingness to exercise them, and therefore this phase of the question need not be seriously considered. And how could the police, the militia, the army, or the navy make any headway against a mass of people who simply *do nothing* to those who are exercising their undoubted right to blacklist anybody they want. The blacklist is the boss's boycott, and those who believe in the boycott cannot with consistency cry out against the blacklist. The lockout is the boss's strike, and those who believe in the strike make themselves ridiculous when they protest against the lockout. Both of these means of enforcing assumed rights will give way to less expensive methods when the parties to them have the good sense to come together in a friendly spirit and determine through reason and the highest self-interest to adopt those principles of righteousness which make for personal freedom and economic equity. What a wonderfully winning world this would be, were they to work together in wisdom and kindness for justice!

The Pornography of Murder.

Maurice Le Blond, in "L'Aurore," delivers a telling blow at the yellow journalism of France, which Liberty translates as of equal pertinence in America, where a Craddock is driven to suicide and a Hearst is sent to congress.

Independent writers, free minds, critics of art, are engaged at present in carrying on a vigorous campaign against pornographic prints, against those unclean publications which for some time have been flooding us with the basest jests and the silliest obscenities. We had already the press of the cross and the press of the sabre, the business press and the lying press; now we possess the press of stupidity and ugliness. And perhaps this last must be regarded as a new instrument of oppression and servitude. For to let the people wallow in abjection, vice, and stupidity is surely an excellent means of stifling its generous ardors, of checking its just rebellions. In gorging them with filth, we appease their appetite for justice and truth.

But it is not simply the salacious press that we should denounce and brand in the name of beauty. There is also that hideous traffic in pictures which hawks over the entire country the taste for blood, the mad passion for murder; there are all those illustrated supplements, all those vile chromos, which have made a specialty of the reproduction of scenes of murder and of the most repugnant features of the day's news.

Even among apparently peaceful nations there seems to exist a sort of obscure taste for carnage and bloody butchery. Octave Mirbeau, in his "Jardin des Supplices," has written definitive pages on this very subject. And we must confess that the newspaper reports of executions, or the views of massacres which the popular journals spread abroad with an atrocious exuberance of coloring,—that all this distressing literature, in fact, is as dangerous to public morality as the worst forms of pornography, however base.

For my part, I am always astonished that the reproduction of the essential acts of life, that the splendid rites of fecundity and love, are held in disgrace by certain moralists, whereas dramatists, painters, and poets are permitted to glorify to their hearts' content *the act that kills*. We remember the scandal created, on the appearance of "La Terre," by that magnificent canticle of pagan effusion. But the same people who cannot bear the sight of living nakedness never tire of pictures of battle and torture, regale themselves with the serials in the daily papers, and go shamelessly to the Morgue to experience unwholesome, sickening joys.

It is in death that rottenness resides,—not in love, as is proclaimed by ascetic morality and monstrous Catholicism. "Sin," says Camille Lemonnier, in one of his finest books, "is born in the shadow of the altar, of the dark frenzy of the worship of death, ultimate symbol of virginity, pale and sterile like virginity, monstrous antinomy in the spirting torrent of amorous substance. Who can doubt that the mystical myth of the Virgin immaculate and yet mother, corner-stone of the Catholic apsis, shading under veils and magnifying with an irritating mystery the naked lotus of India, the nuptial flower of life and eternity, has not rendered her devilishly desirable to us, making of us the lascivious band which goes through the centuries scenting the peppery odors, the torpid and deadly tuberoses of the Idol hidden in her tabernacles."

And, indeed, if the idea of love had not been warped by that of sin, men would be able to understand life in all its magnificence and in its true candor. Salacity would not exist, or pornography either, these being able to flourish only among degenerate nations. If we were capable of feeling the health which shines forth resplendent in the work of a Rubens or a

Rodin, we should pass by in indifference those pert stupidities, those coarse representations of bare bosoms, lifted skirts, and pink tights, which are only the aperitives of debauchery.

But two thousand years of Christianity weigh, alas! upon our shoulders, we are still submissive to the grim atavism of the Middle Ages, and romantic literature, which grew so rapidly in that vast charnel-house, the First Empire, contributed not a little to stimulate our morbid taste for death.

Instead of showing us the beauties of nature and the felicities of earth, most of the poets have disordered our nerves by vaunting the frenzies of passion, mingling the idea of suicide with that of love, glorifying the brutality of the warrior and the heroism of the soldier, and holding before our eyes the examples of assassins, monsters, and madmen.

Not with impunity did Stendhal write: "At Rome a husband is able to kill his wife's lover without ceremony; that is why Rome has the ascendancy over Italy"; not with impunity could Balzac cry: "Where find energy in Paris? There a dagger is a curiosity which they hang to a gilded nail." These paradoxes have gradually intoxicated us, so that now France need no more envy the passional tragedies of ferocious Spain or the vendettas of sensual Italy.

Dramas of cloak and sword, such as "Les Chevaliers du Brouillard," "La Tour de Nesles," "La Dame de Montsoreau," etc., have furnished to entire generations examples of slaughter and lessons in throat-cutting. Wearing Venetian mantles, cherry-colored caps, and satin doublets, the gentlemen and gallant knights of this *repertoire* gained applause for the same exploits for which the police of to-day pursue and condemn the Apaches of Belleville and the Italian frontier. For between the Toledo blade and the ferruled knife there is a difference only in form and manufacture.

What wonder, then, that we find ourselves to-day in such a state of sentimental degeneracy! The Locustes of the serial story, the Othellos of the news columns, the Orestes and Roxanes of the court reports, have become the favorite heroes of a democracy that lacks an ideal. The readers of popular newspapers, who would withdraw their subscriptions *en masse* if a love scene were painted for them, find the greatest delectation in the report of an autopsy. A description of nudity will frighten our hypocritical modesty, but that of a rotting corpse is in no way offensive to us. And thus there is a pornography of murder as well as a pornography of love.

It is high time, nevertheless, that we ceased taxing with ugliness that which is normal, and embellishing scenes that are exceptional, hideous, and atrocious. Upon this matter art is in agreement with science. And it is by rehabilitation of living matter, by celebration of the divine physique too long despised by the mystics and the sick, that *savants* and poets will succeed in purifying our conception of life and of the beautiful, so perverted and so spoiled, since it still reproves the act of the flesh and endows with an æsthetic prestige the gesture of death and destruction.

Errors That Must Die of Old Age.

[Edgar D. Brinkerhoff in "Lucifer."]

Some argumentation seems to defy all reasoning. For example, the assertion that a murderer's person can be rightfully controlled by none but himself; the denial of the right of the mother to keep her female child away from the father or other man whose object is concubinage; the averment that the mother is not invaded when her child is enticed away; the claim that a child knows its own mind; the declaration that a free jury system exists to-day; the proposal to put two bosses in the home, and neither of these to be boss; and, worst of all, the old guy denying the right of property in general.

The Full Belly or the Free Soul?

["Free Society."]

"Bread is freedom" is a favorite saying of some radicals, which is a lie, however. Louise, the queen of Saxony, had all the bread and comforts she desired, yet she was an abject slave in a golden cage. Even a servant girl enjoys greater freedom in many respects; she can at least with impunity read Tolstoï, Zola, and Nietzsche, and on Sundays take a bicycle ride, — things for which the queen was punished and reprimanded. "Freedom is bread" would be a more applicable proverb.

A Critic's Tribute to Our Power.

[Dr. Stanton Colt.]

When a person is proved to be a "peaceful Anarchist," he is not yet shown to be a harmless or ineffective opponent of government. Indeed, these peaceful persons are the only sort which democracy and democratic societies need really fear. The bomb-thrower attempts to assassinate a prince or empress; but the peaceful Anarchist strikes a blow full-front on the sovereign brow of the State itself—the State which only exists in the love, gratitude, and loyalty of the individuals who make up the nation.

What We Owe to Copyright.

["Life."]

A native Japanese points out that there is no hope of a great Japanese literature, owing to the wretched pay of writers in the Flowery Kingdom. This is a very just deduction. The Shaksperes and the Miltons are instances of the pitiful literature of a generation ungenerous with its writers. If a people are to have their Hall Caines and their Winston Churchills, they've got to pay for 'em.

Let Us be Strenuous with the Dagos.

["Life."]

If our strenuous president desires to endear himself to that great bulwark of American government, the American shopkeeper, he will at once dispatch Dewey and his fleet to aid our German and British brethren in the glorious work of compelling decadent Dagos to pay five hundred cents on the dollar.

Mute Opinion.

I traversed a dominion
Whose spokesmen spake out strong
Their purpose and opinion
Through pulpit, press, and song.
I scarce had means to note there
A large-eyed few, and dumb,
Who thought not as those thought there
That stirred the heat and hum.

When, grown a Shade, beholding
That land in lifetime trode,
To learn if its unfolding
Fulfilled its clamored code,
I saw, in web unbroken,
Its history outwrought
Not as the loud had spoken,
But as the mute had thought.

Thomas Hardy.

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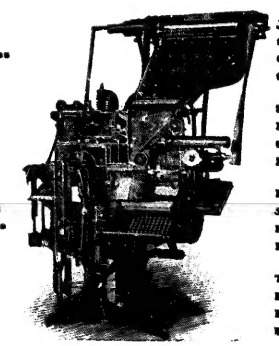

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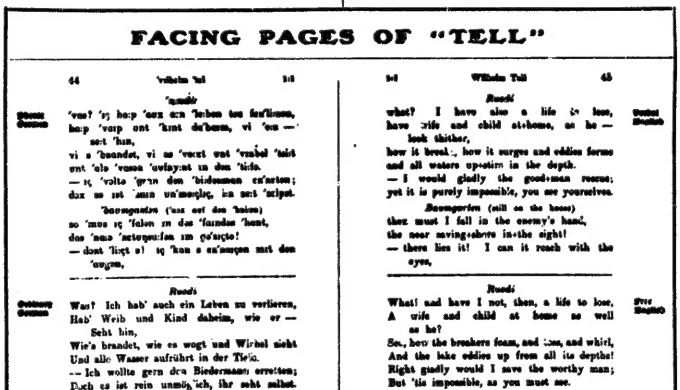
"In short, the only practical and rapid way of learning a language is to store in the memory as many words and phrases as possible. By the time a pupil has read and understood — which is easy with a translation — twelve or fifteen volumes of Latin, he knows Latin."

FACING PAGES OF "TELL"



Henry Sweet:
"Phonetics is almost as old as civilization itself... It is the unphonetic, not the phonetic methods that are an innovation."

Paul Passy:
"I was disagreeably surprised to observe that in American schools, as almost everywhere in France, they make use, from the very start, of the German characters, so embarrassing to beginners, and which there is every advantage in not taking up till later on."

Benjamin Ide Wheeler:
"Words are not words without context, motive, and life."

For WHAT
Remarkable

For Its Fundamental Principle
that languages are to be learned quite as much by Practice as by Theory: that *ideas* and *sounds*, to become sufficiently *associated* in the mind, must actually be *present* in the mind — in the right combinations — *over, and over, and over again.*

For Its System of Phonic Notation,
the Universal Alphabet of "*Le Maître Phonétique*," a journal circulated in 35 different countries. This alphabet has already been applied to about 200 languages and dialects, and bids fair to come into world-wide popular use. *After one language has been learned by it, other languages are much easier to learn.*

For Its Four Parallel Texts
always in sight, three of them corresponding, *line for line*, and *word for word*: thus securing *perfect ease of reference.* Each text is, however, *distinct* from the others: thus enabling the student to pin his attention exclusively and continuously on any one of them he may choose.

For Its Phonic German Text
giving the *exact pronunciation and stress* of each word as spoken *in the particular context in which it occurs.* Pronunciations as commonly given in text-books, grammars and dictionaries, are not only few in number and inexact, but arbitrary: *fitted to no particular context.*

For Its Ordinary German Text
corresponding *line for line* and *word for word* with the phonic German text, and printed in large, clear roman type.

For Its Verbal English Text,
a word-for-word rendering, corresponding *line for line* with the ordinary German and phonic German texts: enabling the student or instructor to find at a glance *the literal meaning of each word in the particular context in which it occurs.*

For Its Free English Text
giving *the general idea and spirit* of the German, and often a literal rendering of the lines.

The Study of Modern Languages in Boston, Mass.

(From *Le Maître Phonétique* for March, 1901)

The publication of the Ideophonic Texts for Acquiring Languages . . . shows a zeal at once rare and determined in the teaching of languages by the phonetic method. On the two facing pages appear four parallel texts of the subject-matter: a phonic foreign text, an ordinary foreign text, a word-for-word rendering of the text, and a free rendering of the text. The sounds of any language are taught by means of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. Students of phonetic systems are to be congratulated that the editor has not followed the usual custom of inventing a new system which they have to practice on before really starting in.

October, 1900 JAMES GEDDES, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Boston

UNIVERSAL ALPHABET

In this table, the letters representing the *voiceless* sounds, that is, the sounds produced without vibration of the vocal cords, are *enclosed in curves* ( ).

ORGANS	Lips	Gums	Palate	Veil	Uvula	Throat
Wholly closed, then opened	b(p)	d(t)	ɟ(c)	g(k) ɑ(q)		ʔ
Nose passage open	m(m̥)	n(n)	ɲ(ɲ̊)	ŋ(ŋ̊)		
Open at sides (of tongue) only		l(l)	ʎ(ʎ̊)	l(l)		
Trilled		r(r)			ʀ(ʀ̥)	ɢ
So close as to produce friction	ɤ(r) ѵ(f)	z(s) ʒ(ʃ) ð(θ) ʑ(ɕ)		w(ʍ)		ɦ(h) (h)
	Rounded		ɥ(ɥ̊)	ɯ(ɯ̥)		
			j(ç)	ɣ(x)		
Very close	Rounded		y ɥ	u		
			i	ɯ		
Close	Rounded		ʏ	ʊ		
			ɪ	ɯ		
Half close	Rounded		ø ø̞ o			
			e	ɤ		
Half open	Rounded		œ ɶ ɔ			
			ɛ ɐ ʌ			
Open			æ ɑ			
Very open			a ɑ			

ː denotes that the *preceding* sound is relatively *long*
ˑ denotes that the sounds just *after* it are relatively *loud*.
˜ denotes that the sound under it is *nasal*, or produced with the passage from throat to nose open.

[ ] denote that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *high*.
⌊ ⌋ denote that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *low*.
/ denotes that the *pitch* of the preceding sounds *rises*.
\ denotes that the *pitch* of the preceding sounds *falls*.

For WHOM
Designed

For All Students of German,
whether having private or class instruction, or studying by themselves only, who wish to *start right*, not start wrong, to be *continuously helped and corrected*, not continuously hindered and led astray, to proceed *rapidly*, not at a snail's pace, and to try the theory that *practice makes perfect.*

For All Teachers of German
(*whether teaching "Tell" or not*) who know that German can be acquired only by covering *an enormous amount of ground*; and who know, therefore, that their duty is to furnish their pupils with the most refined and powerful instruments for self-instruction which can be obtained. If not adopted as a regular text-book, this volume may be used as a *supplementary* text.

For All Students whose Pronunciation is Bad:
and the pronunciation of English-speaking students *is apt to be very bad.*

For All Teachers who are Uncertain as to Pronunciation
or rendering, or who have a local or imperfect pronunciation, and *who want standard guides*, such as the phonic text and the word-for-word rendering *for their own use* at home or in the class.

For All Students who Read Aloud:
and should students not read aloud more or less: in class and out?

For All Teachers of German Phonology
who now confine their teaching to mere elementary theory, for lack of *accurate and practical texts* on which to set students to work finding things out for themselves.

For All Students of General Phonetics and Philology,
who are interested in the structure of the German language.

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